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House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Monday, November 6, 1995, at 12 noon.

Senate

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1995

The Senate met at 10 a.m., and was called to order by the Honorable JAMES M. JEFFORDS, a Senator from the State of Vermont.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:
The Moses motto for living gives us the secret of making this a great day. He said, "So you shall rejoice in every good thing which the Lord Your God has given you."—Deuteronomy 26:11.

Gracious God, this is a day for rejoicing over the manifold good things You have given us. Help us to take nothing and no one for granted. As we move through this day we want to savor the sheer wonder of being alive as citizens of this land of freedom and democracy. Thank You for the intellectual ability to think, understand, and receive Your guidance. We praise You for the people of our lives. Help us to appreciate the never-to-be-repeated miracle of each personality. Give us patience and sensitivity for those who are troubled. We are grateful for work to do, challenges that make us depend on You more, and opportunities beyond our abilities that force us to trust You for wisdom and strength. We rejoice over Your daily interventions to help us. Today, we even rejoice in our problems, for we know that they will be occasions for You to show us Your power to provide solutions. Rather than saying, "Get me out of this!" help us to pray, "Lord, what do You want me to get out of this?" Then free us to rejoice in the privilege of new discoveries. In all

things, great and small, we rejoice in You, gracious Lord of All. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, November 3, 1995.

To the Senate:

Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable JAMES M. JEFFORDS, a Senator from the State of Vermont, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,
President pro tempore.

Mr. JEFFORDS thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 1 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

ENDING WELFARE FOR LOBBYISTS

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, on the heels of welfare and lobby reform, Congress is just beginning to address the issue of welfare for lobbyists.

Both Houses of Congress have passed legislation aimed at curbing the abusive practice of forcing taxpayers to subsidize lobbying activity. Even so, we are coming dangerously close to returning to business as usual in Washington.

The Treasury-Postal appropriations conferees have been debating the welfare for lobbyists issue for weeks. The only agreement so far has been an agreement to disagree.

Mr. President, each year, the American taxpayers give more than \$39 billion—that is "billion," with a "B"—to organizations which turn around and use those dollars to lobby Congress for more taxpayer dollars.

Over the past several months, we have seen those 39 billion tax dollars hard at work here in Washington.

During this summer's Medicare debate, one of the most vocal contributors to the Medi-Scare campaign of misinformation was AARP, an organization which received more than 70 million taxpayer dollars during a 1-year period between July 1993 and June 1994—70 million taxpayer dollars.

Here are just a few other examples of American's hard-earned tax dollars at work: \$250,000 went to the Child Welfare League of America, which turned around and launched a vicious ad campaign aimed at increasing welfare spending; its ad against the Contract With America's welfare reform proposal screamed, "More children will be

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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killed. More children will be raped;" another \$1 million went to the American Nurses Association, which proudly announces their mission to "lobby Congress and regulatory agencies on health care issues;" \$150,000 went to AFSCME, which denounced the recent welfare plan, claiming it "will drive more families into poverty and turn its back on hard-working Americans who fall on hard times;" \$2 million went to the AFL-CIO, which, over the Memorial Day congressional recess, used that \$2 million to pressure Members of Congress on labor issues. The union's "Stand Up" campaign included radio ads and direct mail.

Now, Mr. President, I recognize that not all of the tax dollars used to subsidize these groups goes directly to political advocacy. And not all of these dollars go to organizations with a political agenda—many are directed to worthwhile charities that are doing the right thing in their communities.

But many of these organizations are really lobbying and political front groups that are taking taxpayer dollars and spending them on political activities.

All Americans are guaranteed the first amendment right to speak out, but they do not have the right to speak out at taxpayer's expense.

Thomas Jefferson made this point nearly two centuries ago when he said, "To compel a man to furnish funds for the propagation of ideas he disbelieves and abhors is sinful and tyrannical."

Not only are we compelling taxpayers to pay for the propagation of ideas they do not believe in, we are doing it behind their back, and we are adding to the Nation's enormous deficit to do it.

Mr. President, Americans work too hard for their money to see it spent for them promoting political causes they oppose. And they work too hard for their money to give it to lobbyists in the form of welfare.

Now the evidence that this welfare for lobbyists really does exist was never more obvious than earlier this year, during the lobbying reform debate.

When we came close to passing a strong provision in Treasury-Postal appropriations limiting taxpayer-financed lobbying—the compromise provision reached between Senator SIMPSON and our colleague in the House, Representative ISTOOK—our offices came under siege from groups lobbying to protect their special interest.

Now, this is not going to effect the efforts of many major groups such as the American Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the American Cancer Society, the United Way, and the hundreds of other organizations which still manage to lobby effectively without financial assistance from the taxpayers will attest.

Mr. President, all the Simpson-Istook compromise does is require Federal grantees to act like true charities.

It is important to understand that there is not an absolute prohibition on

lobbying. The Simpson-Istook compromise recognizes that there are gray lines between activities such as providing information to Congress, and actually lobbying Congress.

For this reason, no organization will be capped at less than \$25,000 and many organizations will still be able to spend up to \$1 million for their lobbying activities here in Washington.

Yet even with these generous limits, opponents have cranked up a propaganda machine unequaled in any debate this year. They have even formed the so-called Let America Speak Coalition, whose members have been quoted as saying that, "If Istook passes, nonprofits will no longer draft [regulations]. * * *

Mr. President, why are nonprofits that receive taxpayer funding writing Federal regulations in the first place?

These groups go even further by calling this legislation a gag rule that is unfair and un-American. But I would suggest to them that free speech is not free at all if Uncle Sam's taxpayers are footing the bill for it.

The amount of disinformation being spread by these groups has been astounding.

We have all heard how those who rely on Government assistance such as students, farmers, and welfare recipients will supposedly lose their right to lobby.

The House language specifically exempts this type of Government assistance—yet the untruths continue.

The Senate needs to pass strict reforms that will require full disclosure of all Federal money spent by grantees, reforms that will truly eliminate all Federal funding of political advocacy.

We also need to stop the political games in which a grantee supports an affiliate who does the lobbying for them. And there needs to be tough penalties for organizations that knowingly violate the rules.

Mr. President, I have no desire to limit the ability of people to exercise their right to free speech—as long as its with their own resources and their own money. But there is no place for taxpayer-subsidized political advocacy in a truly free society.

The hard-earned tax dollars that we ask working Americans to send to Washington should be reserved for those who truly need them, and not to provide welfare for these lobbying groups.

I urge my colleagues to end the tyranny Thomas Jefferson warned against and support real reform that will put money in the pockets of taxpayers and keep those taxpayer dollars basically out of the pockets of lobbyists.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. The Senator from Alaska is recognized to speak up to 20 minutes.

MEASURE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR—H.R. 1833

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I have been asked by the leader to make the following statement.

I understand there is a bill at the desk that is due for its second reading.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 1833) to amend title 18, United States Code, to ban partial-birth abortions.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I understand by previous order this bill will be considered at 11 o'clock on Tuesday, November 7.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is correct.

Does the Senator object to further proceeding?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. The Senator does object to further proceeding.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be placed on the calendar.

ARCTIC OIL RESERVE

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, yesterday I had an opportunity to take some of the Senate's time in the morning to discuss the issue of the Arctic oil reserve and ANWR, which are, in effect, one in the minds of most people, but in reality there is a significant difference. Let me just very briefly review the significance of this area and put it in a perspective that I think can perhaps be more easily understood.

First of all, we have the area in green and the area in yellow and the small area in red, representing, in the minds of most Americans, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. This is a very, very small piece of Alaska, up near the Canadian border that overlooks the Arctic Ocean.

The significance of this, of course, is that in 1980, Congress acted and designated specific land uses. The uses included putting 8 million acres in a permanent wilderness. That is the area in green with the black slashes. At the same time, they put approximately 9.5 million acres in a refuge. This is represented by the green area. These were placed in a permanent status.

However, they left 1.5 million acres of the coastal plain for designation in the future because of the promise of oil and gas discoveries in those particular areas.

The red area is native land, primarily occupied by a few hundred Eskimos in the village of Kaktovik.

What we have before us is a decision by the Congress on whether or not to allow a sale of approximately 300,000 acres in the coastal plain to take place. In both the House and Senate reconciliation package, we have included the